

Message Text

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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT ROBERT KEATLEY OP-ED COLUMN, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, WALL STREET JOURNAL, HEADED "FEELING THE PULSE OF CHINA." STORY IS DATE-LINED VLADIVOSTOK.

2. FRESH FROM INTRODUCING A NEW PRESIDENT TO AN OLD ACQUAINTANCE, SOVIET LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV, SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER TODAY BEGINS WHAT MAY BE AN EVEN MORE IMPORTANT VISIT ON HIS CURRENT DIPLOMATIC FORAY.

3. THE STOP IS IN CHINA, HIS FIRST THERE IN A YEAR. THE SECRETARY HOPES TO STRENGTHEN A RELATIONSHIP WHICH HE CALLS "A PERMANENT AND ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY."

FOR ONE THING, THE SINO-AMERICAN RAPPROCHEMENT HELPS BOTH PARTIES KEEP THE RUSSIANS RELATIVELY CIVIL.

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4. BUT WHAT MR. KISSINGER CAN ACCOMPLISH THIS WEEK IS UNCLEAR. OUTSIDERS FIND THIS A TIME OF GREAT UNCERTAINTY WHEN THEY CONSIDER CHINA AND ITS IMMEDIATE FUTURE. IN THE

PAST YEAR, CHINESE-AMERICAN TIES HAVEN'T NOTICEABLY IMPROVED AND MAY HAVE REGRESSED A BIT. THE HEALTH OF KEY CHINESE OFFICIALS, NOTABLY OF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, HAS FAILED, RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LEADERSHIP. INTERNAL POLITICAL

STRESSES PERSIST DESPITE AN END TO THE MORE OBVIOUS QUARRELING; FUTURE INSTABILITY REMAINS POSSIBLE. ALTHOUGH THE ECONOMY HASN'T BEEN HARMED GREATLY BY ALL THIS, OFFICIAL CHINESE DOCUMENTS CONCEDE PRODUCTION HAS SUFFERED SOMEWHAT DUE TO POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

5. THUS AMERICAN CALLERS THIS WEEK WILL BE FEELING THE PULSE, PERHAPS LITERALLY AS WELL AS FIGURATIVELY, OF THE CHINESE LEADERS THEY MEET. THEY'LL BE TRYING TO DISCERN WHAT MEN AND WHAT POLICIES ARE EMERGING, AND WHAT MAY HAPPEN TO SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AS A RESULT.

6. "THIS KISSINGER TRIP MAY BE THE MOST CRITICAL YET," SAYS AN INFORMED AMERICAN EXPERT.

7. UNCERTAINTY ARISES BECAUSE CHINA HAS ENTERED A TRANSITION FROM RULE BY OLD REVOLUTIONARIES - THE MEN WHO FOUNDED THE COMMUNIST STATE 25 YEARS AGO - TO MANAGEMENT BY THEIR SUCCESSORS. IT'S STILL EARLY IN THE GAME AND MOST OF THE OLD GUARD REMAINS. BUT ABILITY OF SOME TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY CLEARLY HAS DIMINISHED IN RECENT MONTHS, AND THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF AN INEVITABLE TOLL.

8. FOR EXAMPLE, PREMIER CHOU--CHINA'S GENERAL MANAGER FOR DECADES AND THE MAN WHO OFTEN HELD THINGS TOGETHER IN CRISIS--SEEMS TO WORK NOW FROM A HOSPITAL ROOM; HE REPORTEDLY HAS HEART TROUBLE AT AGE 76. MARSHALL YEN CHIEN-YING, ALSO 76 AND THE SENIOR ACTIVE ARMY MAN TILL RECENTLY, IS APPARENTLY INCAPACITATED BY ILLNESS. THE HEALTH OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG, THE FOUNDING FATHER, REMAINS THE SUBJECT OF ENDLESS SPECULATION DESPITE THE FREQUENT AUDIENCES HE GRANTS FOREIGN DIGNITARIES. FEW OUTSIDE
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ANALYSTS BELIEVE HE PLAYS AN IMPORTANT GOVERNMENTAL ROLE THESE DAYS.

9. YET THOSE WHO ASSUME NEW RESPONSIBILITIES NOW ARE MOSTLY FROM THAT SAME GENERATION--MEN OF 70 OR SO WHO FOUGHT WITH THE CHAIRMAN AGAINST JAPANESE INVADERS AND NATIONALIST CHINESE FOES BEFORE ESTABLISHING THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN 1949. FOR POLICY, THEY MAINLY PURSUE CONTINUITY AND MODERATION--HOLDING THINGS TOGETHER AND NOT LETTING INTERNAL POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS DISRUPT SOCIETY AND PRODUCTION.

10. WORKERS SHOULD "MAKE REVOLUTION ON THE SPOT" RATHER THAN LEAVE THEIR JOBS TO DENOUNCE CONFUCIUS OR OTHER

DEVILS OF THE DAY, THE OFFICIAL PRESS PREACHES.

11. BUT THAT IS A STOPGAP PROGRAM BY STOPGAP LEADERS, MANY ANALYSTS BELIEVE. IT CONTAINS BUT DOESN'T RESOLVE SERIOUS INTERNAL POLITICAL DIVISIONS. NEITHER DOES IT INDICATE WHO WILL SUCCEED THESE OLD MEN OR HOW. AND IT TELLS LITTLE ABOUT FUTURE POLICIES--PARTICULARLY THE VITAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES OF RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

12. FACTIONALISM PERSISTS IN CHINA FOR MANY REASONS. ON ONE LEVEL IT'S SIMPLY AN EFFORT BY THE OUTS TO GET IN, AND BY THE INS TO STAY JUST WHERE THEY ARE. THERE IS ALSO THE QUESTION OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY (PEKING) VERSUS REGIONAL AUTHORITY (THE PROVINCES). INSTITUTIONAL RIVALRIES ARE INVOLVED WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE ARMY AND THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY ALL SEEKING SPECIAL RIGHTS. SUCH OTHER FACTORS AS YOUTH VERSUS AGE, CITIES VERSUS THE COUNTRYSIDE ALSO FIGURE INTO THIS COMPLEX SCENE.

13. BUT UNDERLYING IT ALL IS A CRUCIAL IDEOLOGICAL DIVISION. THOUGH ALL RESPONSIBLE CHINESE CLAIM TO BE LOYAL FOLLOWERS OF CHAIRMAN MAO, THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN HOW THEY APPLY HIS TEACHINGS. THESE GROUPS ARE OFTEN CONVENIENTLY, IF TOO SIMPLISTICALLY, CATEGORIZED AS "MODERATES" AND "RADICALS."

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14. MODERATES STRESS SOCIAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. THEY RECOIL FROM DRAMATIC POLITICAL UPHEAVALS WHICH THREATEN NOT ONLY THEIR PERSONAL POSITIONS BUT CHINA'S SLOW PROGRESS TOWARD AFFLUENCE. THEY MAY SYMPATHIZE WITH THE AVOWED OBJECTIVES OF THE CHAIRMAN'S MANY IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNS (THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD, THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND OTHERS) BUT THEY OFTEN TRY TO CONTAIN THEM--THERE'S A PRACTICAL LIMIT ON HOW MUCH THEY'RE WILLING TO PAY FOR IDEOLOGICAL PURITY.

15. MOST OF THE AGED MEN WHO TODAY RUN CHINA ARE SUCH MODERATES. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY'RE NOW CIRCULATING DOCUMENT 21 OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHICH COMPLAINS THAT THE CURRENT ANTI-LIN PIAO, ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN "FORCED MANY ENTERPRISES TO CEASE OR REDUCE THEIR PRODUCTION." THE DOCUMENT ORDERS EVERYONE TO GET BACK TO WORK AND STAY THERE, OR ELSE.

16. OPPOSED ARE THE SO-CALLED RADICALS LED BY OFFICIALS

WHOSE CAREERS HAVE INVOLVED PROPAGANDA MORE THAN PRODUCTION. THE APPARENT LEADER IS CHIANG CHING, THE CHAIR-

MAN'S WIFE. THIS GROUP CONTENTS THAT TOO MUCH PRAGMATISM LEADS TO ELITISM, THE UNHOLY SIN OF THE SOVIET UNION. THEY SAY FAILURE TO ROUSE MASS POLITICAL FERVOR EVERY FEW YEARS LETS BUREAUCRATS GO SOFT AND BECOME A SELF-PERPETUATING ARISTOCRACY. THE CHILDREN OF OFFICIALS GO TO COLLEGE AND BECOME OFFICIALS, FOR EXAMPLE, WITH FEW PLACES OPEN TO ORDINARY WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

17. SUCH BACKSLIDING WOULD TURN CHINA AGAIN INTO A LAND WHERE A PRIVILEGED FEW EXPLOIT THE WORKING MULTITUDES, MAKING IT, IN THEIR VIEW, A SOCIETY AS HYPOCRITICAL AS THAT OF THE RUSSIANS. THUS IDEOLOGICAL PURITY CANNOT BE COMPROMISED NO MATTER THE COST, THEY CONCLUDE.

18. THESE DIVISIONS APPLY TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS. AT PRESENT CHINA PURSUES WHAT IS CALLED "CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY FOREIGN POLICY," IN FACT A MODERATE
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PROGRAM FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH MOST OF THE WORLD. THIS MOVE, PARTICULARLY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES, HELPS PEKING FEND OFF A RUSSIAN MENACE AND OPENS UP USEFUL TRADE PROSPECTS WHICH HELP CHINA MODERNIZE. IT ALSO REFLECTS THE CHAIRMAN'S DEEP PERSONAL DISLIKE OF THE U.S.S.R. WHICH HE BELIEVES HAS BETRAYED SOCIALISM IN GENERAL AND CHINA IN PARTICULAR.

19. BUT WHAT OF THE FUTURE? AFTER THE CHAIRMAN PASSES, SOME CHINESE MAY WANT LESS HOSTILE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, AND PERHAPS LESS CORDIAL ONES WITH THE U.S. THEY COULD ARGUE--AS THE DECEASED DEFENSE MINISTER LIN PIAO APPARENTLY DID--THAT SINO-SOVIET TENSIONS SHOULD BE MINIMIZED. THEY COULD ALSO CLAIM THE PROPER ATTITUDE TOWARD CAPITALIST AMERICA IS ONE OF ANTAGONISM, PARTICULARLY AS IT HELPS KEEP THE ISLAND OF TAIWAN APART FROM MAINLAND CONTROL. THIS GIVES U.S. EXPERTS DOUBTS ABOUT THE LONGEVITY OF CHINA'S PRESENT POLICIES.

20. INTO THIS COMPLEX SITUATION MR. KISSINGER NOW ENTERS. HE'S NOT SURE JUST WHOM HE WILL MEET: THE CHAIRMAN AND THE PREMIER MAY BE TOO ILL TO SEE HIM. LIKEWISE, HE DOESN'T KNOW FOR CERTAIN WHAT HE'LL HEAR FROM THOSE WHO DO RECEIVE HIM. WILL SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS GET COZIER, REMAIN RATHER ALOOF OR EVEN DETERIORATE A BIT? IN PARTICULAR, MR. KISSINGER WORRIES THAT CHINA MAY LOOK AT AMERICA'S OWN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND CONCLUDE THE U.S. ISN'T A RELIABLE FRIEND.

21. ANOTHER CENTRAL CONCERN IS TAIWAN, ABOUT WHICH THE

U.S. "ACKNOWLEDGES THAT ALL CHINESE ON EITHER SIDE

OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT MAINTAIN THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND
TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA." MEANTIME, PEKING INSISTS "THE
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED
STATES CAN BE REALIZED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONFIRMING
THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE CHINA"--OR DERECOGNIZING THE
NATIONALIST REGIME.

22. THERE'S WORRY PEKING MAY DEMAND PROGRESS NOW AS THE
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PRICE OF IMPROVED DEALINGS WITH THE UNITED STATES. FOR
EXAMPLE, RULING MODERATES MAY ARGUE THEY NEED SOMETHING
TANGIBLE TO FEND OFF MORE LEFTIST CRITICS, WHICH MR.
KISSINGER WOULD LIKE THEM TO DO. THERE'S ALSO CONCERN
THAT CHINA--IF THE U.S. DOESN'T BEND--MAY MAKE UP
WITH THE RUSSIANS SO IT COULD CONCENTRATE FORCES AGAINST
TAIWAN SOMEDAY IF PEKING GROWS TIRED OF PATIENT WAITING,
THE CURRENT POLICY. ONLY TWO WEEKS AGO, FOR EXAMPLE,
PEKING SENT MOSCOW A SURPRISING AND SOMEWHAT CONCILIATORY
PROPOSAL FOR RENEWED BORDER TALKS.

23. THIS GIVES WASHINGTON A PROBLEM. THE ADMINISTRATION
FEELS IT CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT RENEGE ON ITS DEFENSE
TREATY WITH TAIWAN. FOR ONE THING, THE PRECEDENT COULD
BE DAMAGING ELSEWHERE. YET THE OPENING TO PEKING IS A
VITAL PART OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: IT PROMOTES ASIAN
STABILITY AND HELPS PERSUADE THE RUSSIANS TO TALK ABOUT
ARMS CONTROL AND OTHER THINGS--IF ONLY TO PREVENT EVERY
RUSSIAN'S NIGHTMARE FROM OCCURRING, A MILITARY ALLIANCE
BETWEEN POWERFUL AMERICA AND A CHINESE GOLDEN HORDE.

24. HOW MR. KISSINGER WILL BALANCE SUCH CONSIDERATIONS--
AT A TIME WHEN THERE'S UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHO WILL TRY TO
LEAD CHINA WHERE BEFORE LONG--CANNOT BE PREDICTED WITH
CONFIDENCE. BUT HIS VISIT, THOUGH PROBABLY LACKING
DRAMATIC ANNOUNCEMENTS, SHOULD TELL MUCH ABOUT THE TREND
OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. AND THAT WILL HELP PROVIDE
DURABILITY OF THE FOREIGN POLICY MR. KISSINGER HELPED
CONSTRUCT FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND HAS PASSED ON TO
HIS NEW BOSS GERALD FORD. (END TEXT.) INGERSOLL

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